

Message Text

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20

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSC-10 PA-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15 ACDA-19 IO-13 INRE-00

OMB-01 MC-02 DRC-01 AID-20 EB-11 TRSE-00 COME-00 /161 W
----- 024121

O 210650Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5172

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CINCPAC

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 6840

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AF, PK

SUBJECT: AFGHAN-PAK RELATIONS - "PUSHTUNISTAN"

REF: A) KABUL 6694; B) KABUL 6751

SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH GOA PUBLIC POSITION LESS AGGRESSIVE ON
PUSHTUNISTAN THAN EARLY AUGUST, MFA CONTACTS NOW TAKING HARD
LINE IN PRIVATE, SUGGESTING LOWERING OF TEMPERATURE PROBABLY
ONLY VERY TEMPORARY.

1. SEVERAL RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH MFA OFFICIALS YIELD SOMEWHAT
CONTRADICTORY SIGNALS AS TO AFGHAN LINE ON PUSHTUNISTAN. OUR
IMPRESSION REMAINS THAT SOME RETRENCHMENT HAS OCCURRED SINCE
EARLY DAYS OF REGIME, AND THAT DAUD NOT READY FOR MORE EXTERNAL
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COMPLICATIONS AT PRESENT. HOWEVER LULL LIKELY TO BE A TACTICAL

RATHER THAN STRATEGIC RETREAT.

2. CHARGE HAD MEETING SEPT 16 WITH DEPFONMIN WAHD ABDULLAH JUST AFTER HIS RETURN FROM MOSCOW, IN WHICH ABDULLAH REITERATED "SERIOUS VIEW TAKEN BY GOA OF ALMOST DAILY PROVOCATIONS BY BHUTTO". ABDULLAH SAID "AFGHANISTAN WILL NOT BE PROVOKED, BY PAKISTAN, BY IRAN, OR BY CHINA (SIC), BUT I ASK YOU AGAIN AS A FRIEND OF AFGHANISTAN TO USE YOUR INFLUENCE WITH BHUTTO TO CEASE HIS PROVOCATIONS". WHEN ASKED TO CLARIFY "PROVOCATIONS", ABDULLAH REFERRED TO "MILITARY ACTIONS IN TRIBAL AREAS", "MANNING OF TROOPS ON BORDERS", ETC. IN RESPONSE TO PROBE INQUIRING WHETHER PRECISE WORDING OF PAZHWAQ SPEECH IN ALGIERS REPRESENTED GOA POLICY OR SOME FREEWHEELING, ABDULLAH MADE ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT HE AT LEAST FULLY ENDORSED PAZHWAQ'S FORMULATIONS. HE SAID "BHUTTO CANNOT EXPECT US TO REMAIN SILENT WHILE HE PREPARES PASHTUNS AND BALUCHIS". CHARGE AGAIN URGED MODERATION AND CAUTION, SAID WE WOULD CONTINUE OFFER SIMILAR ADVICE TO PAKISTANIS, BUT WARNED ABDULLAH NOT TO OVERESTIMATE POSSIBLE US INFLUENCE ON WHAT WAS EXCLUSIVELY A BI-LATERAL PROBLEM FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION BETWEEN TWO NEIGHBORS.

3. DURING ADCM'S CALL SEPT 20 ON NEWLY APPOINTED DIRECTOR MFA'S SECOND POLITICAL SECTION MOHAMMAD HAKIM (ARYUBI), LATTER DISCLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUSHTUNISTAN OR AFGHAN/PAK RELATIONS, NOTING (CORRECTLY) THAT THIS ISSUE BELONGED TO FIRST POLITICAL SECTION. LATER IN CONVERSATION, HOWEVER, HAKIM REFERRED TO PRESIDENT NIXON'S REMARKS DURING PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO VISIT REAFFIRMING US SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE. HE ASKED WHAT THIS MEANT; WOULD USG SEND TROOPS TO ASSIST GOP IF TROUBLE BROKE OUT? ADCM GAVE FOLLOWING AS PERSONAL COMMENT: A) REMARK SHOULD BE VIEWED IN LIGHT OF TRADITIONAL US FRIENDSHIP FOR PAKISTAN (AS WELL AS OTHER COUNTRIES IN AREA); B) SHOULD ALSO BE VIEWED IN LIGHT US-PAKISTAN CENTO RELATIONSHIP AND 1959 BI-LATERAL AGREEMENT, BOTH OF WHICH AIMED AT THREAT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM AND COMMITTED COUNTRIES TO PURSUING REACTION TO SUCH THREAT THROUGH THEIR DULY ESTABLISHED CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES; THE STATEMENT DID NOT IMPLY POSSIBLE SENDING OF US TROOPS TO PAKISTAN IN THE EVENT OF FURTHER TROUBLES; C) STATEMENT WAS CONSONANT WITH US DESIRE FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN REGION AND US CONCERN THAT NO ACTIONS BE ALLOWED TO AFFECT PREVAILING STABILITY.

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4. HAKIM THEN COMMENTED UPON CURRENT TROUBLES IN BALUCHISTAN AND STATED THAT AFGHANISTAN REGARDS THESE PROBLEMS AS ITS PROBLEMS ALSO. HE SAID THAT AFGHAN POLICY CONTINUED TO LOOK TOWARD A PLEBISCITE IN ORDER FOR THESE PEOPLES (BALUCHIS AND PASHTUNS) TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES ON THEIR FUTURE STATUS. HE REITERATED LONGSTANDING AFGHAN LINE THAT 1947 PLEBISCITE HAD NOT PROVIDED ADEQUATE CHOICE FOR THESE PEOPLE SINCE THEY WERE LIMITED TO

CHOOSING MOSLEM PAKISTAN OR HINDU INDIA. ADCM STATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD AFGHAN POLICY, AS ENUNCIATED BY WAHID KARIM (DIRGEN FOR POL AFFAIRS MFA) SEVERAL TIMES OVER PAST TWO YEARS TO BE AS SET FORTH IN 1964 LOYA JIRGAN, TO WIT, "AFGHAN POLICY IS TO SUPPORT PEACEFULLY THE OBTAINING OF PUSHTUN GOALS AS SET FORTH BY THEIR LEADERS." ADCM ADDED THAT THIS WOULD APPEAR TO MEAN SUPPORT FOR ANY ACCOMMODATIONS REACHED BY PAKISTANI PUSHTUNS-BALUCHI LEADERS WITH OTHER POLITICAL GROUPS OR GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN. HAKIM DEMURRED AND SAID THAT WE WERE MISINFORMED. AFGHAN POLICY, HE SAID, IS TO SUPPORT PUSHTUN GOALS AS ENUNCIATED BY THE PEOPLE, NOT THE LEADERS, I.E., A PLEBISCITE. ADCM COMMENTED THAT HE THOUGHT THIS TERM HAD NOT BEEN USED SINCE EARLY 1964 IN DESCRIBING AFGHAN POLICY TOWARD PUSHTUN ISSUE. HAKIM AGAIN STATED ADCM HAD BEEN MISINFORMED.

5. IN SUBSEQUENT CALL SAME DAY ON PAK COUNSELOR BABAR, LATTER TOLD ADCM THAT HE VIEWED PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE AS IN STATE OF APPARENT CALM AND LULL. (HE HAD PRIVATELY ADMITTED TO CHARGE ON SEPT 18, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT STEADY DETERIORATION IN SECURITY SITUATION IN BALUCHISTAN, AND TO LESSER DEGREE IN NWFP. PROTECT.) BABAR REPATED HIS AND GOP'S DISTRESS OVER SHARP WORDS OF AFGHAN NAC DELEGATE PAZHWAK (REFTEL A). HE ADDED THAT MOST NEW APPOINTEES IN FONMIN WERE HARDLINERS ON PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE; SPECIFICALLY, HE LABELLED HAKIM, MOHAMMAD YAHYA (MARUFI) AND GHAFAR (FARAHI). BABAR STATED GOP WAS TRYING ASCERTAIN WHICH LINE GOA INTENDED FOLLOW AT UNGA ON PUSHTUNISTAN. HE EXPECTED GOA WOULD USE IDENTICAL OR SIMILAR HARSH LANGUAGE AS IN REF A. QUESTION WAS WHETHER ISSUE WOULD BE RAISED IN AMBASSADOR PAZHWAK'S GENERAL STATEMENT OR WHETHER AFGHAN DELEGATION WOULD REQUEST AGENDA ITEM ON PUSHTUNISTAN. HE SAID HAKIM, IN RESPONSE EARLIER QUERY, HAD TOLD HIM AFGHANS HAD NOT YET DECIDED HOW TO HANDLE ISSUE.

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6. IN RESPONSE QUESTION, BABAR STATED NO AFGHAN OFFICIAL DURING HIS TWO YEARS HERE HAD USED TERM "PLEBISCITE" IN DISCUSSING PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE.

7. ALTHOUGH CONFIRMING EVIDENCE LACKING, APPARENT HARDENING IN MFA LINE COULD REFLECT ADDITIONAL SOVIET REASSURANCES TO NAIM AND ABDULLAH DURING THEIR RECENT MOSCOW VISIT (REF B). WE WOULD APPRECIATE REPORT FROM USUN ON ANY AFGHAN MOVES AT UNGA ON THIS ISSUE.

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